augurs danger to the Republic; and this, as the gravest and most flagrant abuse of military power known to the history of the republic, deserves, and I trust will receive, at the hands of this House, a searching investigation. If this House neglect the petition of the people of this District, the next House of Representatives will not be so deaf to the cry of the oppressed. It toucks the very integrity of our laws, the immunity of the citizen from military violence, the just jealousy of military power which pervades our people; and they will history—that the American party was not known in the Southern Staftes as a political organization till 1854. My colleague, (hr. Mansatz.) who is one of the leaders of the party, knows that it never had any existence is Kestucky until 1854. Now, what was the result! I want gentlemen to understand that I am not discussing the facts as to which party was to blame at the time the riots occurred, but I desire to show the practical conferenced, we had had peace and quiet. Louisville was moted for its prosperity, its manufacturing interests, and the flourishing condition of its trade. We were all proud of Louisville.

But on the 6th of August, 1855, what was the character of the seenes which were presented in that city! Why, the picture draw here to day by the gentleman from Maryland was but a small affair compared with those scenes. The two parties met in hoatile array, and the streets of that city, In my own State, were drenched with blood. Men were shat down in the streets and murdered while making their escape from their own flaming dwellings. Men, women, and children were indiscriminately slaughtsred. These was a venerable man of the name of Quinn, whose head was white with the frost of many winters, an houset, industrious, and peaceable man, who had lived in the city for thirty years; the torch of the incendiary was applied to the house; and as that poor old man attempted to make his escape from his burning dwelling, he was shot down by assassins men his own threshold. When

Mr. SURNETT. I appeal to the gentleman from Virginia to allow my colleague the floor.

Mr. GOODE. Very well; I will withdraw my motion that the committee rise, and will yield the floor, temporarily, to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky. As I remarked before, it was not my purpose, certainly, in making the proposition to limit the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States in the municipal elections of the District of Columbia, to open the wide field of debate which has been occupied by other gentlemen.

Nor do I think that it was at all necessary to the elucidation of any argument which has been adduced by my colleague, to travel, for illustration, to the constituency which he and I represent, and to the scenes which occurred in Louisville, in 1855. He has drawn upon them as matters which he thinks are necessary incidents to the progress of Americanism.

So far as the riots in the city of Louisville are concerned, I do not feel that, in this place or in any other, it is necessary for me to make any further remark than to say

to the progress of Americanism.

So far as the riots in the city of Louisville are concerned, I do not feel that, in this place or in any other, it is necessary for me to make any further remark than to say that a resolution was adopted in public meeting by the party which elected me to a former Congress, declaring that that party is not in any way responsible for those riots; that they did not originate with the American party; that the members of that party in Louisville had no design to enter upon any such movement; that the riots were begun by foreigners who were excited, and incited, probably by others, influenced by malice or other improper motive. The American party of Louisville, in view of what had occurred, frankly declared their purpose to be prepared in future to meet whatever might occur; and, disclaiming all responsibility for the past, stated, with the boldness of men, who under tand their rights, that they will be always ready to protect them, and with whatever emphasis may be required by the circumstances under which they may be invaded.

I was not in Louisville when the riot occurred. I was there two or three days before, and I state here, upon my verity as a gentleman, that so far as I know or ever heard—and I was in the councils of the American party—I was in close connection and communion with the leaders and working men of that party at the time engaged in my canvass—there was neither preparation for nor contemplation of a riot, up to the time when I left Louisville. I was called away from the city on Thursday prior to the election by the illness of a member of my family, and did not return until a week after the election had transpired. I therefore speak of those rights from the testimony which was elicited at the time, though a great deal was given which was conflicting and contradictory.

I understand that there were on that day two distinct riots in the city of Louisville. One originated in the upper part of the city, among the Germans, who fired from the upper story of a brewery upon

riving along through the attests in their ouggy, and were, in fact, going to the country. Ame police interfered, and was resisted, and the fight between the police day of the election, and was not at the neighborhood of the polls where the election day of the election, and was not in the neighborhood of the polls where the election day of the election, and was not in the neighborhood of the polls where the election was taking place.

The riot in the lower part of the city originated from the fact that several pencerial discretes. After some four or five had been shot, down in their tracks, resistance star mass, and the mole was gathered. In the scene that followed much violence was perpetrated; but we must remember that great provention had been given, and het blood was already roused to madness. Of Mr. Quinti, whose fate has so started the sympathies of my collegage, I know nothing. I do not remember that I ever saw him or heard of him. He was the owner or superintendent of a row of houses from white some of the fining had taken place, and in which it was reported that a magazine of arms was prepared, and had been arranged prior to the election, and frishmen were in those homes, superarely ready for the fray. This, as I understand, we had the more than the property.

In the course of the developments while followed the superior developments with the followed property. In the course of the developments while followed the residence of the city in voked their mistresses to discusse their habands from going transmission, the city in well more than the city of the election of the city of the election of the city of the home of the city of the election of the city of the home of the developments while the property is the course of the developments while followed the superior and the city in voked their mistresses to discusse the property is developed to the city of the home of the city of the city of the home of the city of the course of the cit

they made combinations for political purposes, and the acquisition of political control. It was then time for Americanism to begin, and I only now fear it began too late.

When a congress of foreigners assembled at Philadelphia, and published a platform of political principles and the ramifications of their plan throughout the United States—reaching to Louisville, to Richmond, to Philadelphia, and to St. Louisproved by its identity everywhere, that the whole series sprang from one source; when this effort of foreign combination palpably struck at the very organism of the Government, and proposed to modify our system so as to assimilate it to the crude experiments of European republicanism, without a knowledge of the political philosophy upon which our fathers founded the rich legacy they bequeathed to us in our Constitution; and above all, when loveign influence had reached a point at which American Administrations deemed it was are expedient to combine with it to maintain or acquire political power in this country, the time had arrived, if there was patriotism in the American bosom, for united action among ourselves to secure our household gods.

Mr. SICKLES. I desire to inquire whether it was not a part of the platform of the American party to disfranchise foreign-born citizens from the right to hold office, and to deprive those citizens of the Catholic faith from the exercise of the same right? And I desire to say, in this connection, that when the American party, as a party, is held responsible for the scenes which have occurred in Louisville, Baltimore, and New Orleans, the charge is not made that gentlemen of character and standing in the party have conspired to produce or to incite these roots, or that they have taken a personal part in them. The charge is, that the initiation and advocacy of such ideas and such measures directly tend to produce these conflicts and scenes which have diagraced the country.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky. My friend from New York does no more, he will observe, then reside my co

t attempting to show that the combination formed by Americans was a of resistance to aggressions upon our rights and our Constitution by im-

proper foreign combinations, or combinations of crude foreign political philosophers. When we found that persons in this country, who had acquired, under our laws, the status of adopted fellow-citizens, had neither forgotten their foreign associations nor the political philosophy which prevailed in their fatherland, yet who evinced a determination to apply these predilections to our own system, then the American bosom burned with a desire to unite, under our own flag, and under our own philosophy, and to maintain them intact in our midst. We saw hordes of foreigners coming appen us at the rate of four hundred thousand a year, bringing with them all their various nationalities, and indicating all the partialities that were natural enough in their fatherland. We regarded this as our land, and we could not fail to see that it was likely to become the camping ground of the nations. We determined that here we would display the banner of our own country, and that we would gather around it; we said to each other it was time to stand by the doctrines of the American Republic as they had been given to us by the sages of the constitutional era. This, sir, was the honest and patriotic desire in which Americanism originated in this country. It had no other source.

But, it is said, we persecute a man on account of his place of birth. I deny that there ever was in the tenets of my party any proscription of men on secount of the place of their birth. I deny that any combination, which shall be made by American citizens to maintain one class of persons for political office in preference to another alas, can ever; in any proper sense of the term, be called proscription. Gentlemen upon that side of the House tell me that they would never vote for me. Why the cause I am an American. They would require me to subscribe to all the chambers in view of the Democratic faith before I could command their suffrages. I said that I should prefer native-born to naturalized citizens wherever the two were up for office, under the then existin

my political sight of preference between individuals or classes that I have agreed to exercise in behalf of the native, and then only as a preference, and not to a degree which seeks absolutely to ostracise any one.

Again, it is argued that Americanism prescribes a man on account of his religion, and that Americans are sworn not towote for a man for office if he is a Roman Cathelic. My reply is this: the great cardinal principle which is, in this regard, the basis of the American party, is opposition to chatever would make a union of Church and State in this country. Our principle aims at this, and no more. They who cetablished originally the platform of the party may have mistaken a case for a principle. It is probable, indeed I feel quite sure, there should have been a distinction it awn between the Papist and the Catholic. I understand that a portion of the Catholic Church holds the doctrine that the Pope—whether it springs from his spiritual power or his temporal power, or both combined—is, in the last resort, the ultimate judge, not only of moral right, but, under the moral law, of political right, and therefore possesses the power, in some way, to absolve the citizen from obedinese to the law of the land or country to which he belongs, of which his Holiness may disapprove as an infraction of the Divine Law.

Mr. KELLY. I desire, to ask the gentleman a question.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentuckys. The gentleman can take an hour to reply to my speech.

speech.

Mr. KELLY. The gentleman asserts what is not a fact, and I desire—
Mr. MARSHALL, of Kestucky. I have found a great contrariety of opinions among Catholics upon this particular branch of my subject, and I do not expect that my friend from New York and I shall agree upon what are the facts in regard to it. The fact I state is, that the ultra-montane branch of his Church is understood to hold the doctrine that in the last resort the head of the Church has the moral right to determine what is right and what is not right.

Mr. KELLY. I deny that they hold may such doctrine, and the gentleman states what is not true.

what is not true.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky. Well, T must say that the gentleman puts his

remarks in a very blunt form.

Mr. KELLY. I say that the statement is not true.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky, Why, surely one branch of the Church holds.

mr. KELLY. I say that the statement is not true.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky. Why, surely, one branch of the Church holds, that doctrine.

Mr. KELLY. I say there is no branch in this country that holds that doctrine; and the gentleman has never seen one that advocates that doctrine.

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky. I tell the gentleman from New York that the doctrine i have asserted is maintained, as I understand it, by the whole ultra montane branch of his Church; and if I had the time to go into the discussion, I should expect to prove my assertion from the Review by Brownson, and by other Catholic writers in this country. But the gentleman says I have never seen a Catholic of vitac class. I have never seen a Catholic work of that class. I have never seen a Catholic work of the proposition. I have seen very few who, when the question was any gued, did not contess to the very distinction? I fake.

But, air, the American party intended to assert the principle that no union in this country. Shall exist between Church and State. That is our principle. As I before observed, I am free to say that the men who first laid down the platform of the American party mistoot the case, probably, for the principle, and they would have done.

But, air, why talk we to-day about secret combinations, about oaths, and grips, and degrees! These are the mere formulæ which one were used by my party. My colleague knows well these formulæ which one were used by my party. My colleague knows well these formulæ have long inspece been dispensed with, and for a year or more there have been, in the American party of the country, no secrets, no mysteries, no degrees, no rivulais, no close countils, but only clubs, such as have been constantly formed by the Democratic party and every other party. Whoeversympathics with us in our sentiments, our purposes, and our views, stands of our party, and is in a open a party as either the Democratic party and every other party. Whoeversympathics with us in our sentiments, our purposes, and our views, stands of

Mr. CRAWFORD. I believe that; for the party has taken its departure from

Mr. CRAWFORD. I believe that; for the party has taken its departure from this life already. [Laughter.]

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentucky. Let the gentleman not lay that flattering unction to his soul. Many a gentleman on that side of the Chamber now congratulates himself in a seat on this floor who yet feels in his heart of hearts that the minority that he oyercame consists of staunch, and true, and firm Americans, who will buckle on their armor for the next contest, and at all times hereafter, as they did hereto fore. A million of Americans appeared, under most adverse circumstances, in the last presidential election. They will be found hereafter standing by those same principles; and, my word for it, they will refuse all combinations that propose to falsify them, or to abate one jot or tritle of their strength and patriotic purpose. For one, I expect to stand by those principles now, and at all times hereafter. I expect that the men who voted for Millard Fillmore in the last presidential election will stand by them; that they will guard thom jealously, and will preserve them reverently, and will fight, for them in the future as in the past, only with greater zeal and with renewed and redoubled exertions. The American party dead! Why, sir, although it may come out of the errors of administration, atthough it may be a result of wanton expenditures, or of unequal action in guarding the rights of American citizens abrond, or it may spring from a sense upon the part of the people of this country that the Administration must be committed to bands that will protect American citizens abroad and at home, we hope, in the progress of years, this nucleus of a million of voting Americans will gather strength until it shall spread into a tree that will overshadow this American land, and under which our people will live through a future of bright prosperity.

Mr. BARKSDALE, Jose the gentleman allude to the murder of Colonel Crittenden and his friends when he speaks of American citizens not being protected?

Mr. MARSHALL, of Kentu

derisively at the idea that the flag of the United States is a safe shelter either from insult or outrage.

Believe me, sir, this picture is not overdrawn. Our tendencies are not to the zenith, but to the nadir of national efficiency and vigor, and the voice which I utter will find an affirmative response from every American who has visited other countries, and knows the reputation we are acquiring, not in our own estimation, but in that of foreign nations. This thing ought to be rectified. It must be rectified. Sooner or later it will be rectified; for sooner or later the people of the country will wake fact up to the that if you, gentlemen of the Democratic party, who have now the responsibilities of administration—the Executive, the Senate, and House in your hands—are not equal to the task, it will be the duty of the American people to commit their welfare and their destiny to American hands.

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